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ABSTRACT

Whatever the reason, trouble with the law is a matter of considerable importance to contemporary Indian Americans. This study, a component of Havighurst's National Study of American Indian Education, seeks to gain a better understanding of Indian offenders in Minnesota. Data concerning new court commitments from July 1, 1967 through June 30, 1968, are presented and analyzed. The characteristics of Indian new court commitments are described according to age, sex, offenses, residence by county and state, family situation, level of intelligence, employment status, and prior psychiatric treatment. A brief evaluation of and suggestions for improving American institutions, specifically correctional institutions, are compiled into a dozen responses pertinent to Minnesota Indians and based on the collected data. The report concludes with a telescopic exposition of one such response, i.e., Project Newgate, which is an experimental test of the proposition that higher education can be an effective instrument of rehabilitation in correctional institutions. A proposal for Indian Project Newgate as a supplement to the original Newgate in Minnesota is outlined. (TL)

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Training Center for
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University of Minnesota
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Introduction

Trouble with the law is a matter of considerable importance to contemporary Indian Americans. For some, it is the intercultural conflict with the most devastating personal consequences. It may be symptomatic of the family and personal disorganization which so often accompanies extreme poverty. It may be the result of alienation from a legal system which has frequently betrayed Indian interests. It may be caused by deep conflicts between an older, traditional Indian way of life and the demands of a modern technological society. It may be a particularly self-defeating way of expressing rebellion against a dominant society which is perceived as having abused, exploited and discriminated against Indian Americans. Whatever the cause, trouble with the law seems to affect the lives of Minnesota Indians to a greater extent than one would predict based upon the proportion of the total Indian population.¹

To gain a better understanding of Indian offenders in Minnesota, data concerning new court commitments to Minnesota Department of Corrections institutions during the fiscal year July 1, 1967 to June 30, 1968 were secured and analyzed.² "New court commitments" refers to those individuals admitted directly from court commitment; it does not include individuals transferred from other facilities or parolees returned for violation of parole rules. Included, however, are parolees who are recommitted by the courts. It should be realized that new court commitments represent the input of persons to the state's correctional institutions and are not descriptive of the total institutional population, which must be determined as of a given date.

Only those correctional institutions having significant numbers of inmates were included in this study.³ This report will describe the characteristics of individuals admitted as new court commitments in three categories -- juveniles, youth and adults. In addition to describing the

characteristics of Indian new court commitments, it will seek to suggest avenues for social action which could bring about positive change in the lives of Minnesota Indians. A companion volume will attempt to draw some comparisons between Indian inmates and inmates from other ethnic groups.

Throughout this report, it must be remembered that the populations which emerged from this one year of experience are not offered as being typical or representative of the ethnic groups in question -- nor of corrections institutions populations, for that matter. The data may be useful, however, in pointing up characteristics which are socially, if not statistically, significant.

Characteristics of Indian American Inmates

How can the Indian American inmates of these institutions be described? In the records established at the time of admission, who is labeled "American Indian"?

In addition to full-blooded Indians, persons of mixed white and Indian blood are included if the proportion of Indian blood is one-fourth or more, or if they are regarded as Indian in the community or are living on a reservation. Persons of mixed Indian and Negro descent are classified as Negro unless the Indian ancestry very definitely predominates or unless the individual is regarded as an Indian in the community. Other mixtures of non-white races are classified according to the race of the father.

Of those classified as "American Indian" a number fit the juvenile category. For corrections purposes in the State of Minnesota, juveniles are defined as individuals who were under the age of eighteen years when committed to the Youth Conservation Commission by the county juvenile courts.

What were the characteristics of the Indian juveniles admitted during the period studied? In what ways did the juvenile females differ from the juvenile males?

Juvenile Females

There were nineteen juvenile female new court admissions during the period July 1, 1967 to June 30, 1968. While five of these girls had committed two or three offenses, most (14) were admitted as a result of only one offense. In the vast majority of cases (94.6%) the "first offense" was of the character that one would normally consider "juvenile delinquency" -- incorrigibility, violation of liquor laws, runaway, shoplifting, theft, truancy, and unauthorized use of a motor vehicle. The one remaining case -- an assault offense -- more nearly belongs to the serious type of juvenile offense, such as homicide, rape and robbery.

Second and third offenses for the five girls who committed them were of the less serious variety -- incorrigibility, theft, truancy and runaway. At the time of their admission all nineteen females were on probation, and all nineteen had previous Minnesota city or county juvenile correctional histories. None of the girls had previous Minnesota or other state juvenile correctional histories.

Most of the girls (17 or 78.9%) were born in Minnesota, one each was born in Iowa and Nebraska, and place of birth was not reported for two of the girls.

The Minnesota county of residence specified by ten of the juvenile females was Hennepin, the county encompassing Minneapolis. One girl came from Ramsey County (St. Paul) and one was from Dakota County, just south of the Twin Cities. Thus, twelve or 63.2% of the juvenile females came from counties including or just adjacent to the Twin Cities metropolitan area. Three girls were from Becker County and two were from Clearwater County; these counties overlap the White Earth Indian Reservation in northwestern Minnesota. One juvenile female was from Itasca County, which overlaps the Leech Lake Indian Reservation in north central Minnesota, and a final girl came from Mille Lacs County, near the Mille Lacs Indian Reservation in east

central Minnesota. Thus, seven or 36.9% of the juvenile females were from counties on or near Minnesota Indian reservations.

Almost half (47.4%) of the juvenile females lived in a metropolitan setting (over 50,000 populations). Only two girls (10.5%) came from an urban environment (over 2,500 populations), and the remaining eight (42.1%) lived in rural, non-farm places of residences.

All nineteen of the girls were single. Most of these girls (57.9%) were from living situations including both natural parents. Four (21.1%) lived with their mothers only, one lived with her father only, and one lived with her mother and stepfather. Only two girls (10.5%) were from boarding or foster home situations.

The religion claimed by thirteen of these Indian juvenile females (68.4%) was Catholic. There were three Episcopalians, one Methodist and two "other" Protestants.

The intelligence of inmates is estimated from available test records according to a special table.⁴ Those estimated to have "average" intelligence numbered eight, and an equal number were estimated to fall within the "dull normal" or "low average" category. Together the "average" and "dull normal" categories encompassed 84.2% of the juvenile females. One girl was rated as "superior", one was classified as "bright normal" or "high average" and one was estimated to have "borderline" intelligence.

The highest academic school grade completed by one juvenile female was the fifth grade. Two girls had completed the sixth grade and another had finished the seventh grade. Eighth grade completion had been accomplished by three girls. The records showed that five juvenile females had completed the ninth grade and another five had finished grade ten. Together, ninth and tenth grade completions accounted for 52.6% of the juvenile females. Finally, one girl had finished eleventh grade.

The highest level of skill achievement for virtually all (17 or 89.5%) of the girls was "unskilled". One girl was considered to be "semi-skilled", and for one "no answer" was recorded. However, the employment status for all nineteen of the girls at the time they were apprehended for their offenses was "not employed -- in school". Since these juvenile females had had no employment experience, it was not possible to specify their occupational classification.

For all nineteen juvenile females, it was not known whether or not there had been any psychiatric treatment prior to admission. Also, for all nineteen girls the availability of a pre-sentence psychiatric evaluation was unknown. The entire group of juvenile females was pronounced to have no physical problems, however. For all but one girl (94.7%) the presence of a drug or alcohol problem was "unknown".

Juvenile Males

During the period studied, there were forty-three Indian juvenile male new court commitments. More than half (24 or 55.8%) had committed only one offense, but the remainder had committed two, three or four offenses. "First offenses" for fourteen or 32.5% of these juvenile males were of the relatively serious variety -- assault, burglary and robbery. Burglary alone led to the imprisonment of nine juvenile males (20.9% of the total). Somewhat less serious "first offenses" -- including disorderly conduct, forgery, incorrigibility, runaway, theft, truancy, and unauthorized use of a motor vehicle -- brought sixteen juvenile males (37.2% of the total) into conflict with the law. "Other" or unclassified offenses accounted for thirteen juvenile males (30.2% of the total).

No particular pattern emerges from the second, third and fourth offenses committed by these juvenile males except that they tended to be of the relatively minor variety -- incorrigibility, liquor law violation, runaway, truancy, unauthorized use of a motor vehicle, and "other".

At the time of admission forty-two of the forty-three juvenile males were on probation, and all forty-three had previous Minnesota city or county correctional histories. None had previous Minnesota or other state juvenile correctional histories.

Most of the Indian juvenile males (39 or 90.7% of the total) were born in Minnesota. One boy was born in North Dakota, one in South Dakota, one was born in Germany, and for one boy no answer was obtained.

The Minnesota county of residence was named by all of the juvenile males. Hennepin County accounted for fifteen boys (34.9% of the total), while only one boy was a resident of Ramsey County. The Twin Cities area, then, was the source of 37.2% of the Indian juvenile males studied during the period. Six boys came from Becker County, four were from Clearwater County, and two came from Mahnomen County. These are counties which overlap the White Earth Indian Reservation in northwestern Minnesota, and, combined, they were the source of twelve or 27.9% of the Indian juvenile males. Cass County, which overlaps the Leech Lake Indian Reservation in north central Minnesota, contributed two juvenile males (4.7%) and three of the boys (6.9%) came from Beltrami County, a county which overlaps both the Red Lake and the Leech Lake Indian Reservations. St. Louis County, which overlaps the Fond du Lac Indian Reservation in northeastern Minnesota, was the source of five Indian juvenile males (11.6%). One boy came from each of the counties of Koochiching and Mille Lacs, counties which overlap the Nett Lake Indian Reservation (north central Minnesota) and the Mille Lacs Indian Reservation (east central Minnesota), respectively. One juvenile male was from Marshall County, a non-reservation county in extreme northwestern Minnesota. In all, Indian reservation counties accounted for twenty-six or 60.3% of the Indian juvenile males.

The places of residence for seventeen or 39.5% of these boys were classified as metropolitan (over 50,000 population). An almost identical number (18 or 41.9%) came from rural, non-farm residences. Urban residences

(over 2,500 population) were specified for seven of the boys (16.3%), and one boy (2.3%) came from a rural farm residence.

Almost half (20 or 46.5%) of the Indian juvenile males came from a home situation including both natural parents. In nine cases (20.9%) the mother only was present in the home living situation, but in only one case (2.3%) was the father the only parent involved. In two cases (4.7%) the mother and stepfather were named and the father and stepmother were named in one case (2.3%). In three cases (7.0%) the boys had been living with relatives. Finally, boarding or foster home arrangements accounted for seven or 16.3% of the Indian juvenile males.

More than half (26 or 60.5%) of the boys said they were Catholic. There were four Lutherans (9.3%), five Episcopalians (11.6%), one Baptist (2.3%) and four from other, less prominent Protestant faiths (9.3%). One juvenile male said he had no religion and two specified religions other than the usual range of Protestant and Catholic ones.

Half the boys (22 or 51.2%) had intelligences estimated to be "average", and almost four out of ten (17 or 39.5%) were rated as "dull normal" or "low average". These two categories accounted for 90.7% of the boys. Two were considered to be "bright normal" or high average", while another two (4.7%) were thought to have borderline intelligences.

Records for two of the Indian juvenile males (4.7%) indicated that the sixth grade was the highest academic grade completed. Thirteen or 30.2% of the boys had completed the seventh grade and fourteen or 32.6% had completed the eighth grade. The ninth grade was the highest grade completed for ten or 23.3% of the juvenile males. Finally, four of the boys (9.3%) had finished the tenth grade.

All the Indian juvenile males were judged to have an "unskilled" occupational skill level. None were employed. Most of them (39 or 90.7%)

were in school, but four (9.3%) were not. Because very little work experience was reported, it was not possible to classify the occupations of these boys.

For all of the juvenile males, it was not known whether or not any previous psychiatric treatment had taken place. No pre-sentence psychiatric evaluation was performed on any of the boys. All of these juvenile males were judged to have no physical problems. For all of these boys, the presence of a drug or alcohol problem was "unknown".

Male Youth

The next broad category of individuals to be considered is youth. For purposes of Minnesota's correctional institutions, youth are defined as those individuals between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one years who are convicted of felonies or gross misdemeanors by District Courts and who are committed to the Youth Conservation Commission.

There were so few Indian female youths admitted to the Correctional Institution for Women at Shakopee that no analysis will be attempted here. Instead, attention will be focused on the seventeen Indian male youths who were assigned to the Minnesota Reception and Diagnostic Center during the period studied. Two of these young men were admitted as a result of each having committed two offenses, but the remainder (15 or 88.2%) had only one offense. In more than three-fourths of the cases (13 or 76.5%) burglary was the "first offense". Other "first offenses", each committed by only one Indian male youth, included aggravated assault, aggravated robbery, theft of over \$100, and unauthorized use of a motor vehicle.

The two second offenses committed were "aggravated robbery" and "escape from custody on a felon conviction". At the time of their admission, fifteen of the young men (88.2%) had no active correctional status, such as probation; on the other hand, two had escaped from a correctional institution.

Minnesota was the birthplace of fourteen or 82.3% of these young men. Other states of origin, each represented by one male youth new court commitment, were Illinois, Nebraska and South Dakota.

The county of residence in Minnesota was not ascertained for one of the Indian male youths. Most (9 or 52.9%) were from Hennepin County. One young man was a resident of St. Louis County, which overlaps the Fond du Lac Indian Reservation in northeastern Minnesota; another one had come from Carlton County, which also overlaps Fond du Lac. Beltrami County in north central Minnesota (which overlaps both the Red Lake and the Leech Lake Reservations) contributed one Indian male youth new court commitment, and Cass County in north central Minnesota (which overlaps the Leech Lake Reservation) was the county of residence for two of the young men (11.8%) studied here. One male youth came from Aitkin County, which overlaps the Mille Lacs Indian Reservation in east central Minnesota. Finally, an Indian male youth was a resident of Koochiching County in north central Minnesota, which overlaps the Nett Lake Indian Reservation.

More than half (10 or 58.8%) of the male youth came from a metropolitan residence (over 50,000 population). One was an urban resident (over 2,500 population), three (17.6%) were from rural non-farm residences, and a final three (17.6%) were classified as "transient".

What prior correctional histories did these young men have? Almost two-thirds (11 or 64.7%) had a previous Minnesota city or county juvenile "record"; four did not, and for two the prior city and county record was not ascertained at the time of admission. More than half (10 or 58.8%) had a prior Minnesota state juvenile correctional history; more than a third did not (6 or 35.3%); and for one Indian male youth, the prior Minnesota state juvenile correctional history could not be ascertained at the time of admission. One inmate had a prior juvenile correctional history from another state, eight (47.1%) did not, and for eight (47.1%) such information was not available at the time of admission. Insofar as previous youth correctional histories are concerned, two of the young men (11.8%) had such a record in a Minnesota city or county and two (11.8%) had a Minnesota state record. None had a youth record in another state.

Four-fifths (14 or 82.4%) of the Indian male youths were single. Two (11.8%) were married, and one was divorced.

What was the home living situation reported by these Indian male youths? Four (23.5%) were living with both natural parents, and another four (23.5%) lived in a family setting where the mother was the only parent present. One (5.9%) reported living with his father, but two (11.8%) said their home was occupied by a mother and a stepfather. One was living with relatives, one was living with his spouse and children, and one was living with his spouse and his in-laws or parents. Finally, there were three (17.6%) who classified themselves as independent.

The religion identified by more than half (10 or 58.8%) was Catholic. There were four Episcopalians (23.5%), one Lutheran, and two "other" Protestants.

One of the seventeen male youths was a high-school graduate. Two (11.8%) had completed the eleventh grade. The highest academic school grade completed by four (23.5%) was the tenth grade, and another four (23.5%) had finished the ninth grade. An eighth grade education was the maximum attainment for another four (23.5%), and a final two (11.8%) had completed the seventh grade.

The occupational skill level for all seventeen Indian male youths was "unskilled". Almost half (8 or 47.1%) were employed at the time they committed their offenses, but another large proportion (7 or 41.2%) were not employed and not in school. One was not employed but in school, and another one held only irregular or odd jobs. It was not possible to determine an occupational classification of these youths.

It was possible, for some, to ascertain whether or not previous psychiatric treatment had taken place. Three (17.6%) had been hospitalized for psychiatric problems, while seven (41.2%) had no history of psychiatric treatment. For another seven (41.2%) it was not known if there had been previous psychiatric treatment. One Indian male youth had undergone a pre-sentence psychiatric evaluation. Most (11 or 64.7%) had not. For five (29.4%) it was not known whether a pre-sentence psychiatric evaluation had occurred.

Most of the seventeen (12 or 70.6%) had no drug or alcohol problem. The presence or absence of such a problem was unknown for one person, but it was known that two (11.8%) had a drug problem and another two (11.8%) had problems with alcohol.

Adult Males

In the terminology of the Minnesota State Corrections Department, "adults" are individuals who are twenty-one years of age or older who are convicted of felonies or gross misdemeanors by District Courts. There were so few adult female Indian new court commitments during the year to the Correctional Institution for Women at Shakopee that they are not reported here. Indian adult male new court commitments will be reported according to the institution of assignment -- the Minnesota State Reformatory for Men at St. Cloud or the Minnesota State Prison at Bayport.

The St. Cloud State Reformatory receives newly convicted felons from the courts, probation violators from the courts, and parole violators. The usual age range is from twenty-one to twenty-six. There were eleven Indian new court commitments during the fiscal year studied.

There was no particular pattern to the offenses committed by these Indian men. There were cases of aggravated assault (two), aggravated robbery (one), simple robbery (two), theft of over \$100 (three), aggravated forgery (one) and burglary (two). Only two had committed a second offense -- one was convicted of unauthorized use of a motor vehicle, and the other was convicted of escape from custody on a felony conviction. Most of these Indian men admitted to St. Cloud (8 or 87.5%) had no active correctional status, but three had such a status in Minnesota State correctional institutions.

Considerable variety was displayed in the birthplaces of these new court commitments. Only one man was born in Minnesota and there was only one born in the adjoining state of North Dakota. Two were born in Idaho, two in Arkansas, and one in Nevada. Interestingly, four (36.4%) were born outside the United States -- two in Norway and two in Canada.

Most (7 or 63.6%) were residents of Hennepin County in Minnesota.

One was a resident of Becker County in northeastern Minnesota, which overlaps the White Earth Indian Reservation. Another was a resident of Koochiching County, which overlaps the Nett Lake Reservation in north central Minnesota. One was from Red Lake County, just west of the Red Lake Indian Reservation in northwestern Minnesota, and a final person was from Traverse County in west central Minnesota.

Most of the Indian adult males committed to the State Reformatory at St. Cloud were residents of a metropolitan area (over 50,000 population), but two (18.2%) had an urban residence (over 2,500 population) and another two (18.2%) were rural non-farm residents.

Nine (81.8%) of these new court commitments had a previous juvenile correctional history in a Minnesota city or county; the remaining two did not. Most (7 or 63.8%) had no previous Minnesota state juvenile correctional history, but four (36.8%) did. Only one had a previous juvenile correctional history in another state. Seven (63.6%) had a previous youth correctional history in a Minnesota city, while four (36.4%) did not. A previous Minnesota state youth correctional history was found for four (36.4%) of the St. Cloud Indian adult males, but most (7 or 63.6%) had no such record. Only two (18.2%) had a previous youth correctional history in another state; the remaining nine (81.8%) did not. Two of the men (18.2%) had a previous adult correctional history in a Minnesota city, but none of the eleven had a previous Minnesota state or other state adult correctional history.

Most of the men (8 or 72.7%) were single; the other three (27.3%) were married. These men came from a variety of living situations. One was living with both natural parents and two (18.2%) were living with their mother only. One was living with his spouse, while two reported a spouse and children at home. One was living with relatives and four (36.4%) were "independent".

There were five Catholics (45.5%) among the men. Two (18.2%) were Lutheran, one was Episcopalian and three (27.3%) were "other" Protestants.

One adult male committed to St. Cloud was judged to have "bright normal" or "high average" intelligence, while two (18.2%) had estimated "borderline" intelligences. Fully five (45.5%) were said to be of "average" intelligence, and three (27.3%) were "dull normal" or "low average".

Completion of the twelfth grade in school had been achieved by only two of the men (18.2%). Another two (18.2%) had finished the tenth grade. The ninth grade was the highest completed by three men (27.3%), and four (36.4%) had finished only the eighth grade.

All eleven men were judged to have an "unskilled" occupational skill level. At the time of apprehension, seven (63.6%) were not employed and not in school. Two (18.2%) were employed full-time, one (9.1%) was employed part-time, and one (9.1%) was employed at an irregular sort of job. The marginality of the jobs held by the four who were employed is reflected in their occupational classification as "other".

One of the men had received previous hospital and outpatient psychiatric treatment. Nine (81.8%) had been provided with no previous psychiatric treatment, and for one man it was not known whether previous psychiatric treatment had been given. In nine cases (81.8%) there had been no pre-sentence psychiatric evaluation; for the remaining two (18.2%) it was not known whether or not a pre-sentence psychiatric evaluation was made.

One man had a "chronic" physical problem, but the remainder (10 or 90.9%) had no physical problems. Most of the men (8 or 72.7%) had no drug or alcohol problems, but three had problems with alcohol.

The second state corrections institution receiving Indian adult male new court commitments, the Minnesota State Prison, receives newly convicted felons from the courts, probation violators from the courts and parole violators. The usual age is twenty-six and over. During the period under consideration, there were four Indian new court commitments. Because of the small number, percentages will not be used in the following paragraphs.

Each of these men committed a different type of offense. Aggravated robbery, receiving stolen property over \$100, aggravated forgery, and burglary were the primary offenses of these men. One man had a second offense -- aggravated forgery. At the time of conviction, none of the men had an active correctional status.

All four were born in Minnesota. The county of residence for one man was not known, but another came from Beltrami County (overlapping the Red Lake and Leech Lake Indian Reservations in north central Minnesota), a third was from Cass County (overlapping Leech Lake Reservation), and the final man was from Hennepin County (Minneapolis). There also was variation in the place of residence. One man came from a metropolitan area (50,000 population or more), one was a resident of an urban area (2,500 population or more), one was from a rural, non-farm residence, and one was transient.

Two of the men had previous juvenile correctional histories in a Minnesota city or county. It was not known whether the other two had such histories. Similarly, two of the Indian adult males had previous Minnesota state juvenile correctional histories, one did not, and the presence or absence of such a "record" could not be ascertained for one man. There was no indication that any of the men had previous juvenile correctional histories in other states. One did have a youth record in a Minnesota city, but it was not known whether the other three had such a record. Two of the men had previous Minnesota state youth correctional histories, one did not, and for one it was not known whether such a record existed. Two did not have a previous youth record in other states, and for the other two such a record was not ascertainable. Three of the men had previous adult correctional histories in Minnesota cities, but the existence of such a record could not be ascertained for the other man. Similarly, three had previous Minnesota state adult correctional histories, and one did not. One man had a previous adult correctional history in another state, two did not, and for one such a record could not be ascertained.

One of the Indian adult males committed to the State Prison was single, two were married, and one was involved in a non-legal association.

Two of the men reported living with their wives and children, and for the other two the nature of the living situation was unknown.

Three of the men were Catholic and one was Episcopalian.

All four men were judged to have "average" intelligence. However, none of them had graduated from high school. One man each had completed the following grades: seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth.

The men were all rated as having an "unskilled" occupational skill level. At the time of apprehension, two held irregular or odd jobs and the other two were not employed and not in school. Because of the marginality of their employment experiences, all were given the "other" occupational classification.

One man did not receive a pre-sentence psychiatric evaluation; it was not known whether the others received such an appraisal. All four, however, had no physical problems. Two of the men had problems with alcohol, but the presence or absence of a drug or alcohol problem for the other two was unknown.

Avenues for Institutional Development Suggested by Indian Data

Critics of institutions and their impact upon the quality of American life assert that they too often become rigid and unresponsive to the shifting need priorities of a changing society. They argue that institutions frequently develop into organizations well-suited to serving the needs -- particularly income and status needs -- of the people who staff them, but that they may, in the process, lose sight of their charge to be of substantial benefit to consumers, patients, clients, students, or inmates. Characteristically, American institutions rely heavily upon constituted authority in the form of legislative mandate, executive decree, or policy as determined by a governing board to ensure that the organization does, in fact, fulfill its mission. With respect to the social implications of that mission, it is sometimes believed that additional safeguards in the form of standards of conduct or ethical

codes will arise from the ranks of professionals engaged to operate the institution and that these safeguards will accrue to the benefit of the general public. But objective standards or measures of performance -- particularly in social terms -- are hard to come by, and institutions charged with responsibility for making a positive contribution to the social climate of American life may have a difficult time demonstrating their impact upon the larger society. At the same time, the demands for accountability -- especially for public funds -- may require a narrow adherence to those performance criteria which are, by some sort of consensus, agreed to be appropriate. The effect, of course, is to minimize experimentation and innovation even at times when the inadequacy of conventional institutional responses becomes painfully evident. In the case of corrections institutions, meager appropriations have often delimited the potential range of institutional response to corrections problems, so that even enlightened and innovative corrections professionals may not have the opportunity to employ new techniques.

One solution to the control and accountability requirement may be, as Bradley⁵ has suggested, re-structuring the organization around tasks more than around traditional functions, and this approach does appear to have merit in the development of a change-responsive organization. Task accomplishment tends to be easier to measure and to evaluate than are the combined efforts of a functional unit in the organization. When task evaluation is fed back into the organization's decision-making mechanism rapidly and combined with such data as the characteristics of newly-committed inmates, the corrections institution gains the ability to make adaptive and timely responses.

Even if it had a surplus of economic resources, the corrections staff likely could not do an effective job of integrating the offender into society as a single agency. Close integration of its activities with such gatekeepers of opportunity as employers, manpower agencies, school administrators and welfare directors may be essential even to the point of joint programming, although conventional institutional fiscal management does not envision such cooperative efforts. In addition to increased inter-institutional cooperation, the utilization of correctional volunteers, social persuaders or influential

persons who are willing to persuade others to support corrections programs, and citizen representatives from the ethnic community or social group of the offender may be necessary to effect real progress in the social reconstruction of offenders.⁶ If the current political cry for "law and order" is to lead to anything more than additional law enforcement personnel, increasingly sophisticated crime detection techniques, and larger corrections institution custodial populations, more attention will have to be devoted to experimentation and to new alliances with other institutions and with citizen groups.

What responses are suggested by the data just reviewed and by other considerations pertaining to Minnesota Indians?

1. Corrections institution professionals, law enforcement personnel, the judiciary, lawmakers and others concerned with the structure and functioning of the legal system should understand the special historical relationship between the law and Minnesota Indians. A major impediment to the prevention of law violations by Indian people may be Indian perceptions of the law, as it is written and as it is enforced, and it is likely that these perceptions are colored by the operation of the reservation system, the trust status of Indian lands, the exploitation of tribal lands via the law, shifting federal policy as it has affected Indians, and law enforcement in low population density reservation areas contrasted with law enforcement in relatively crowded urban areas. Knowledge about Indian perceptions of the law and Indian expectations of the law is a vital predecessor to effective education of the Indian population about the law, constructive communication between law enforcement officials and Indian people, and the adjustment of Indian offenders to society. There is need for systematic study of the law as viewed by Indian people. (Such a study is now underway. It is being conducted under the guidance of the Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission by the Minnesota Law Review and the Training Center for Community Programs, both of the University of Minnesota.)

2. For Indian juveniles in particular, it would be helpful to compare those committed to corrections institutions with those whose conflict with the law ends before reaching such an acute stage in order to see what factors may have made the difference. It could be that counseling, probation, or even simple education may be fairly effective deterrents when used appropriately.
3. The prominence of offenses having to do with property among Indian inmates suggests that cultural differences (i.e., the importance of "sharing") together with heightened levels of need arising from poverty may operate to weaken the majority society admonition against expropriation. Such influences may have serious law enforcement consequences for Indian American populations, and they should be investigated further.
4. It is clear that, for the vast majority of Indian inmates, Minnesota is the state of birth, and this suggests that the significant life experiences for these persons occur within Minnesota. Alteration of those life experiences may be an effective, if difficult, means of forestalling serious legal conflict. The study of contemporary Minnesota Indian life styles in general and the life styles of Indian inmates in particular becomes important. It may be that Minnesota Indians face a double-edged social adjustment problem: (1) the establishment of a contemporary Indian identity to replace one shattered by cultural and social conquest and eroded by reservation life, and (2) the working out of systems of reciprocity with other cultures, especially the dominant one. To that end, improved and increased communication among Indians and between Indians and major institutions may be of enormous importance. The establishment of new mechanisms for communication and learning between Indian populations and corrections professionals seems to be called for.

5. Within Minnesota it is clear that the Indian inmate population comes from the same metropolitan and reservation area counties as the general Indian population. This means that programs designed to deal with actual or potential Indian offenders can be largely confined to selected metropolitan and rural non-farm counties and must acknowledge the existence of the reservation-urban mobility track established by Indians.
6. The juvenile corrections system at the city and county level seems to be a key point in the intervention of corrections professionals into the lives of Indian offenders. One wonders if an expanded program of earlier intervention -- perhaps in collaboration with school officials -- would not be profitable. One urban Indian educational program -- Indian Upward Bound in Minneapolis -- already devotes a sizeable share of its staff time to mediating between Indian juvenile offenders and corrections personnel.
7. Although substantial minorities of Indian juveniles were living in boarding or foster home situations when sentenced, few were living with relatives or friends (as one might have predicted from the culture), and most were living with one or both natural parents. The living situation, then, would appear to lend itself to parentally-imposed controls, but it must be realized that serious impediments to such an approach exist in Indian parental attitudes of non-interference in child-rearing and in the frequently low self-esteem of Indian adults which may hamper the establishment of effective adult models. Working with groups of Indian parents about how to become effective modern Indian parents may be a fruitful long-run approach, and it has been suggested that one aspect of parental behavior -- discipline -- might be enhanced through Indian parent participation in the public school's authority structure.⁷ Indian male youth and male adults who were inmates were characteris-

tically single, and were living with parents, spouses or spouses and children, or were independent. The independent Indian male youth or young adult has been previously identified as a distinct Minneapolis population, noted for its low school achievement, mobility between the reservation and the city and within the city, and difficulty in getting and keeping steady employment.⁸ Imaginative ways of relating this important Indian sub-culture to either or both the larger Indian society or the surrounding white society need to be developed.

8. Indian American inmates in this study cited predominately Catholic, Episcopal and "other" Protestant religious interests. The relationship of churches to Indians is a fairly strong one in Minnesota and elsewhere,⁹ and that institution may be useful as an agent of intervention. Numerous churches and church groups in Minneapolis, for example, have repeatedly demonstrated willingness to serve Indian populations,¹⁰ and they might be useful as contact points between Indian groups and law enforcement officials.
9. In general, Indian inmates were classified as having lower measured intelligence than whites. A 1962 study comparing white and Indian delinquent boys fourteen and one-half years of age and older who were committed to the State Training School for Boys at Red Wing, Minnesota found the same intelligence estimate differences at the five percent level of confidence using Chi-Square analysis.¹¹ While the measured intelligence of Indian inmates suggests that some would have difficulty coping with the task problems of the majority society, the general level of intelligence reported is by no means hopeless, and indeed, it suggests that most Indian inmates could profit from a wide range of education, training, and learning experiences. The test scores, of course, tell one nothing about the motivation to learn.

10. The educational attainment of Indian inmates, particularly for the youth and adult inmate groups, tended to be lower than that of the whites. However, this may have been a reflection of age differences, since age data for each inmate were not readily available. (The Red Wing study of white and Indian delinquent boys,¹² where age differences could be accounted for, found a lower educational attainment for Indians, and the difference was significant at the two percent level using the T test.) There were related schooling and employment characteristics. At the time of conviction, Indian juveniles tended to be not employed and in school -- the general pattern for all ethnic groups studied. Since they were not dropouts, it would seem that the public and parochial schools could play a part in the detection and possible prevention of law infractions. Indian male youth were about evenly split between being employed full-time and being not employed and not in school, and this was the same pattern as exhibited by Negroes and whites. Dropout prevention programs, then, gain an added measure of worth, since they may be responsible for keeping Indian youth out of trouble with the law. Most of the Indian adult males committed to the State Reformatory were not employed and not in school, and the rest were employed full-time, part-time, or at odd jobs. The few Indians who were committed to the State Prison were either not employed and not in school or were employed at odd jobs. This differed from the Negroes and the whites in that a minority of these two groups were employed full-time or part-time. It may be that conflict between many Indians and the law could be prevented through a secure employment relationship (although there are inherent cultural and training problems which must be attacked), and the cooperation of manpower agencies might be useful in such an effort. For Indian offenders already in state corrections institutions, the opportunities for development of useful educational and vocational training programs seem ample.

11. Because of cultural differences, the usefulness of psychiatric evaluation may be questioned. More information is needed about the practical consequences of such evaluations for Indian inmates. Physical examination seems appropriate for this population, however, since Indian Americans are typically from a very deprived setting with common nutritional problems and special health problems.
12. The Red Wing study found other statistically significant differences between white delinquent boys and Indian delinquent boys.¹³ The Indian boys were less likely to have fathers employed as white collar or skilled workers than were the white boys. (The predominance of Minneapolis Indian adult employment at the semi-skilled and unskilled levels is evident from other recent studies.¹⁴) While the nature of Indian delinquent acts appeared to be quite similar to that of the white group, there were three qualifications: "(1) in offenses against property and offenses against public welfare the Indian group tends to have fewer offenses and fewer offenders; (2) in offenses against the person, while small in total frequency in both groups, the Indian tends to have significantly more offenses and, though not statistically significant, we found a tendency toward more offenders; (3) the trend is for the white group to have a larger number of offenses and a larger number of different types of offenders than the Indian group."¹⁵ The Red Wing study also found that, while there was no significant difference between the two groups of white and Indian boys in terms of educational progress, vocational progress and loss of privileges, there was strong indication that institutional adjustment was much poorer for the Indian group. This was demonstrated by their more frequent attempts to escape from the training school and by the fact that they were more often placed in the disciplinary unit. The authors observed that, "This evidence is contradictory to what we had expected. The literature often

refers to the Indian as submissive or passive and we expected to see, as a result, a much better institutional adjustment. Perhaps this behavior could be better described as passive aggressive or passive resistant. That would also be descriptive of the one Indian boy who refused to cooperate in the psychological testing. He did not hit out aggressively, he only refused to cooperate. The conclusion about institutional adjustment is that the Indian tends to have a poorer adjustment than the white."¹⁶

Contemporary Developments and Their Implications for Indians

Current national insecurity reveals itself in the call for "law and order", while Chief Justice Warren Burger urges the legal profession to take the lead in reshaping the nation's penal system so that prisons can be places where criminals have a chance to change.¹⁷

Near Tucson, Arizona the Indian Development District of Arizona, a non-profit organization owned by Indians from seventeen different tribes, plans to convert Mount Lemmon Prison into a school and training area with low security for first offender Indian youth. It is anticipated that the Indian Neighborhood Youth Corps will help run the facility with help from the Behavior Studies Center in Tucson.

In Minnesota, disturbances at Stillwater State Prison have prompted one candidate for governor to call for more conservative probation and parole policies and less emphasis upon rehabilitation.¹⁸ Another candidate for governor has argued that the Minnesota prison and parole systems contribute more to crime than to prevention and should be overhauled. Besides urging creation of a citizen-run Board of Corrections and designation of Stillwater Prison as the state's only maximum-security prison, he has proposed that St. Cloud Reformatory, now a maximum-security facility, be converted into a study, treatment and vocational training center for youthful offenders only.¹⁹ A spokesman for the St. Cloud Reformatory Employees' Union has responded by supporting the request of a Stillwater Prison employees' union for a legislative inquiry into current policies of the State Corrections Department. The

concern voiced is that there is an inappropriate balance and coordination between custody and rehabilitation.²⁰ A college-sponsored workshop on justice has prompted a psychologist to observe that prisons today have failed whether their goal is rehabilitation or punishment and that same assemblage has heard a corrections professional attack social attitudes toward offenders as responsible for "warehousing people" for years in a series of dehumanizing experiences which "turns out people more dangerous to us than before they went in."²¹ One state official has proposed closed-circuit television college courses for inmates in state corrections institutions, while noting the failure of vocational education programs for inmates.²²

In California, a ten-year-old Indian visitation program utilizes Indian inmate sponsors who stimulate the organization of inmates around ideas of self-help in such a manner that individual participation and involvement is enhanced. Monthly or bi-weekly visits from Indian community representatives keep inmates informed of contemporary activities of local and national scope. Through a cultural input of publications, films and tape recordings and through Indian studies courses providing historical and cultural perspective, the cultural identity of Indian inmates is strengthened and motivation to participate in prison academic and vocational programs is enhanced.²³

In Minnesota a \$100,000 civil suit against the village of Cass Lake has been brought by relatives of an Indian youth found dead in the village jail, and the all-white jury seated to hear the suit was the cause of discrimination charges brought to the State Indian Affairs Commission by the Chairman of the Leech Lake Reservation Business Committee.²⁵ In Minneapolis, incarceration of Indians in numbers far exceeding what would be expected from the appropriate total population proportion has led to the establishment by militants of an "Indian Patrol" to prevent alleged police harassment of Indian residents particularly along Franklin Avenue on the southside.²⁶

What we have, then, are the several pressures of public clamor for "law and order", assertions by informed observers that our prisons have failed both in deterring crime and in rehabilitating criminals, demands from prison

employees that security and custody functions be given top priority, recognition that public attitudes of retribution toward criminals serve to impede prison reform, expressions of distrust and hostility toward legal processes and law enforcement by Minnesota Indians, and indications that Indian Americans in other states are developing ways to reach Indian inmates that are largely educational in nature.

In Minnesota, there is one additional development which may have substantial long-run implications. It is Project Newgate, an experimental test of the proposition that higher education can be an effective instrument of rehabilitation in a corrections institution.

The project is currently underway in Oregon, Pennsylvania, New Mexico, Kentucky, and in Minnesota (through the University of Minnesota). Architects of Project Newgate have pointed out that prison inmates are essentially culturally and economically deprived persons who most often cannot be effectively returned to society after they have had their human dignity and self-identity removed in a subculture of prison life. They point out that ineffectiveness of current anti-recidivism efforts within the prison system is no longer even controversial, and that changes -- toward the community, toward differential handling of offenders, and toward a coherent organization of services -- are required by a combination of objective evidence and informed opinion. The Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice asserts that, while the costs of more effective techniques would be substantial, the long-term effects of continued inefficiency and inaction are immensely larger. "Inaction", the report goes on, "would mean, in effect, that the nation would continue to avoid, rather than confront, one of its most critical social problems; that it would accept for the next generation a huge, if not immeasurable, burden of wasted and destructed lives. Decisive action, on the other hand, could make a difference that would really matter within our time."

In Minnesota, Project Newgate attempts to reverse the delinquent self-image and offers higher education as an avenue to opportunities to

acquire better things including status and feelings of significance in a more conventional way of life. Group counseling, combined with college classes, is used to build within the inmates feelings that they can achieve, that they are important, and that by helping each other they can "make it" in spite of what has happened to them in the past. It is hoped that sharing experiences of success and receiving support from each other in their educational pursuits will enable the men individually and collectively to develop a positive self-image that will help carry them to further successes and opportunities even after they return to the community.²⁶

The criteria which inmates must satisfy in order to be admitted to Project Newgate include having an interest in becoming involved in the program, having college level ability and possessing a high-school education or its equivalent. A number of inmates do not meet these criteria, and it has been observed that American Indians are members of one group which generally fits into the category of those who do not seek admission to such projects as Newgate.²⁷

It is believed that conflicting drives to retain traditional Indian life-styles (which no longer have broad economic or social support) and to adapt to the culture of white people, often as a response to punitive and coercive majority society mandates, have resulted in defeat for many American Indians, who have become victims of disunity, poverty and humiliation. Many years of disorganization and incredibly adverse living conditions have produced apathy about achievement, ambivalence concerning self-help, and reluctance to support efforts to bring about change. It has been observed that Indian Americans in Minnesota's corrections institutions display passivity and disinterest about learning different ways of living and about seeking opportunities to improve their life status.²⁸

However, with the stimulus of emerging indigenous leadership, Indian Americans in Minnesota are displaying improved community organization and an awareness that the re-establishment of an Indian identity which can be valued as evidence of cultural equality must precede or accompany increased efforts

to participate in the larger society. These conditions have occasioned the proposal of an "Indian Project Newgate" to function as a supplement to the original Newgate in Minnesota.²⁹ To get an idea of the Indian inmate population, a survey of the Indian inmates in four adult male corrections institutions in Minnesota was made in September, 1969. It revealed the following:

NUMBER AND TRIBAL IDENTITY OF INDIAN AMERICANS
CONFINED IN SELECTED ADULT MALE CORRECTIONS INSTITUTIONS

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Chippewa</u>	<u>Sioux</u>	<u>Other</u>
Minneapolis Workhouse	53	NA	NA	NA
St. Cloud Reformatory	60	60	0	0
Stillwater Prison	65	59	6	0
Sandstone Prison	<u>43</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>3</u>
	221	125	40	3

This proposal recommends a supplementary Project Newgate in several corrections facilities within Minnesota to help meet some of the needs and problems of Indian American inmates and to pioneer in the development of more effective rehabilitation approaches to them. Under the administration of the present University of Minnesota Newgate Project at the St. Cloud Reformatory, the program would attempt to:

- (1) develop a constructive subculture among Indian inmates, a subculture that will embrace the positive values needed to successfully compete in the larger society;
- (2) arouse and sustain Indian inmates' interest in further education at a high school equivalency or higher level;
- (3) offer and coordinate educational programs leading to a GED and college level correspondence courses;
- (4) provide extra-curricular courses in American Indian history, arts and crafts;

- (5) help students to be admitted to a college or other educational/vocational training program once they are to be released from the institution; and
- (6) arrange for appropriate community service referrals that will provide supportive follow-up assistance upon their return to the community.³¹

The proposal is appropriately flexible, so that only those institutions with significant populations of Indian inmates would be included for direct services and so that existing program resources would be optimally utilized and supplemented, rather than duplicated. A full six-part program -- an arousing, stimulating or attracting component, a high school equivalency program, college correspondence work, American Indian history and cultural programs, group counseling and institutional release planning -- were proposed for Sandstone Federal Prison, Stillwater State Prison, and the Minneapolis Workhouse. Other corrections institutions in the state which already have some services for Indians would receive only the cultural component of the program.

The first program component -- arousing, stimulating, or attracting inmates -- would be operationalized through already functioning Indian clubs or groups within the institutions. Every effort would be made to develop a positive attitude toward Indian Newgate within these groups. Second, assistance would be provided to Indian men in their preparation for a General Education Diploma. Using each institution's resources to the greatest possible degree, appropriate tutorial assistance and classroom instruction would be provided. In preparation for the GED, it was anticipated that the Advanced General Education Program developed for the Job Corps would be utilized. With high school equivalency completed, the men in Indian Newgate would be expected to continue a course towards some sort of higher education. Those not oriented toward college might be given specific training for the rest of their sentence in the institution. Some who may wish to go to college could qualify for the parent Newgate Program at St. Cloud Reformatory, and administrative transfers to St. Cloud could be arranged as appropriate. Many

men who want further college work may have to depend upon the third component part of the program -- college correspondence work -- at least until they are released from the institution. The proposal specifies that Project Newgate staff would help Indian inmates plan and select appropriate correspondence work at the University of Minnesota, expedite the registration process, and even provide some tutorial assistance. Group counseling -- the fourth component -- would attempt to create a subculture of mutual support and assistance through the development of small groups of about ten inmates and a group leader who would meet daily to discuss current living experiences, common personal problems and each person's involvement in the program. The goal of such a process would be the development of participant commitment to, and identification with, the group. Within each group, individual members would be important, worthwhile and needed -- the opposite of what inmates usually feel about themselves. Within this positive environment, it is hoped that Indian inmates would be more optimistic and motivated to continue educational activities while in the institution and perhaps after release on parole or other type of placement.³²

It was intended that both individual and group counseling would be used in a complementary fashion. The subculture of the group, however, was viewed as critical: the value system adopted and supported by group members would include the value of education as a means to a better life and a way to stay out of trouble with the law.³³

Indian Newgate's fifth component would be provision of special orientation to American Indian history and culture. In two of the three principal institutions proposed for the project, existing Indian groups formed for cultural enrichment would be utilized for these classes. The proposal states, "In proper perspective, the proposed program will stress the value that the participants are men first and Indians second. They will return to the community as men who are also Indian. Having a positive feeling towards both is extremely important to the success of the program and to each participant in it."³⁴

Finally, Indian Newgate would include, as a last component, institutional-urban planning. This part of the program would stress the importance of flexible ways to integrate individuals into the community and would attempt to blend community resources with the greatest possible effectiveness. Certain services would likely be available in all institutional programs, such as parole supervision and services from the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, Bureau of Indian Affairs, University of Minnesota, County Welfare Departments, and local community agencies.³⁵

While the organization and administration of Indian Newgate would be under the existing Project Newgate structure, it was proposed that three full-time assistants, each directly responsible for all program activities in one of the three institutions, be hired to work in the institutions. Efforts would be made to recruit and employ American Indians for the three positions.

Much of the impetus for the Indian Newgate proposal comes from a pilot educational and cultural program for American Indians in Minnesota correctional institutions which was supported by the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota. While funded at a relatively low level, this program has operated so as to suggest that special programs involving Indian inmates and higher education institutions can be tailor-made to suit the educational needs of Indian inmates while utilizing the resources available within higher education institutions.

This pilot program arose out of a luncheon meeting sponsored by the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs and the All-University Advisory Committee for Community Programs of the University of Minnesota. Approximately forty-five faculty and corrections officials attended the meeting, which served the purpose of exploring some of the educational problems confronting Indian inmates in county, state and federal corrections facilities in Minnesota. It was decided to undertake a pilot effort linked to the existing Project Newgate and to the newly-constituted University of Minnesota Department of American Indian Studies. Representatives of each of the corrections institutions were asked to submit assessments of the need for special Indian education efforts.

The proposals received demonstrate a considerable awareness of, and desire for, special Indian education projects, and they also reflect the wide range of needs associated with different types of corrections institutions and Indian inmate populations.³⁶

In order to establish new communication links with Minnesota's Indian community, the State Corrections Department has established - through the State Indian Affairs Commission - a state-wide Indian Advisory Committee composed of Indian people who will seek to work out new ways of reducing the conflict between the law and Minnesota Indians and which will help corrections professionals pursue new ways of restoring Indian inmates to society. In Minneapolis, a similar Indian Advisory Committee to the Hennepin County Workhouse is being formed. Both committees were formed with the assistance of the University of Minnesota, which hopes to attract released or paroled inmates to the campus.

These developments represent the first substantial effort to link up Minnesota Indians who are in trouble with the law to higher education, the principal avenue to economic success in the larger society. They also represent the first major effort to establish permanent vehicles for communication between corrections professionals and the Indian community. Careful evaluations of these attempts are needed, so that appropriate adjustments can be made, and an effective mechanism for the mediation of Indian interests with law enforcement in Minnesota can be developed.

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¹ For example, estimates of the Minneapolis Indian population vary from 6,000 to 10,000 persons. If we accept a 1965 estimate of the total Minneapolis population as being 489,000, Indians account for 1.2% to 2.0% of the city's population. Yet a recent study of Indian life in Minneapolis reports that 11% of the men sent to the Minneapolis Workhouse and 22% of the women committed to the Women's Detention Home in 1966 were Indian; that, based upon a projection of six months of 1967, Indians accounted for one-third of all referrals (not including repeaters) to the Hennepin County Municipal Court Probation Office; that, in 1966, 5 1/2% of the adults and 5% of the city's juveniles referred to the Hennepin County Department of Court Services were Indian. (See League of Women Voters of Minneapolis and Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota. Indians in Minneapolis. Minneapolis, Minnesota: April, 1968. pp. 49 - 50.)

² The authors particularly appreciate the efforts of Dr. Nathan Mandel and Mr. Paul Sundet, Section on Research and Statistics, Minnesota Department of Corrections, in supplying the raw data.

³ Juvenile new court commitments for purposes of this study were recorded at the point of entry into the Minnesota Reception and Diagnostic Center at Lino Lakes. Assignment of juvenile inmates to permanent institutions is made from the Center. Because the juvenile new court commitments were recorded at the Center, data for each of the institutions to which subsequent assignment is made are not reported in order to avoid duplication. Thus, no data are reported specifically for the State Training School for Boys at Red Wing, the Minnesota Home School at Sauk Centre, the Youth Vocational Training Center Camp No. 4 at Rochester, the St. Croix Forestry Camp No. 3 at Sandstone, and the Thistledeew Forestry Camp No. 2 at Togo. Male youth new court commitments were similarly recorded at the Minnesota Reception and Diagnostic Center; therefore, no data are reported for male youth admitted to the State Reformatory for Men at St. Cloud and the Willow River Forestry Camp No. 1 at Willow River. There were an insufficient number of female youth new court commitments to warrant reporting admissions to the Reception and Diagnostic Center at the Minnesota Correctional Institution for Women at Shakopee.

⁴ Table from which intelligence estimates were drawn:

	<u>AGCT</u>	<u>ARMY BETA</u>	<u>WISC</u>	<u>STANFORD- BINET</u>	<u>WECHSLER- BELLEVUE & WAIS</u>
Superior	133+	120+	120+	121+	120+
Bright normal	120-132	110-119	110-119	111-120	111-119
Average	90-119	90-109	90-109	91-110	91-110
Dull normal	75-89	80-89	80-89	81-90	80-90
Borderline	61-74	71-79	70-79	70-80	68-79
Defective	60 & less	70 & less	69 & less	69 & less	67 & less

⁵ Bradley, Harold B. "Designing for Change: Problems of Planned Innovation in Corrections", The Annals, Vol. 381 (January, 1969) pp.97 - 93.

⁶ See Vincent O'Leary. "Some Directions for Citizen Involvement in Corrections", The Annals, Vol. 381 (January, 1969) pp. 99 - 108.

⁷ Harkins, Arthur, et al. "Indian Participation in the School's Authority Structure: A Pilot Project Outline", University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. September 19, 1969 (mimeo) 8pp.

⁸ Woods, Richard G. and Arthur M. Harkins. Indian Employment in Minneapolis. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota. April, 1968. p. 21.

⁹ Goodner, James. Indian Americans in Dallas: Migrations, Missions and Styles of Adaptation. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Training Center for Community Programs in Coordination with the Office of Community Programs, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota. October, 1969.

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¹² Ibid., pp. 35 - 36.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Woods and Harkins, passim; League . . ., passim.

¹⁵ Caspersen, Fossum and Turnbull, pp. 28 - 30.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 33.

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27 Ibid., p. 3.

28 Ibid., p. 3.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., p. 5.

31 Ibid., pp. 5 - 6.

32 Ibid., p. 11.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid., p. 12.

35 Ibid., p. 13.

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APPENDIX

NEW COURT COMMITMENTS -- JUVENILE FEMALES*
(American Indians only)
(N = 19)

FIRST OFFENSE

	N	%
Assault	1	5.3
Incorrigibility	3	15.7
Liquor violation	2	10.5
Runaway	3	15.7
Shoplifting	1	5.3
Theft	1	5.3
Truancy	3	15.7
Unauthorized use of a motor vehicle	1	5.3
Other	4	21.1
	<u>19</u>	<u>99.9</u>

SECOND OFFENSE

	N	%
No answer	14	73.7
Incorrigibility	1	5.3
Theft	1	5.3
Truancy	1	5.3
Other	2	10.5
	<u>19</u>	<u>100.1</u>

THIRD OFFENSE

	N	%
No answer	17	89.5
Runaway	1	5.3
Other	1	5.3
	<u>19</u>	<u>100.1</u>

FOURTH OFFENSE

	N	%
No answer	19	100.0

CORRECTIONAL STATUS

	N	%
Juvenile correctional probation	19	100.0

PREVIOUS CORRECTIONAL HISTORY

	N	%
Juvenile -- Minnesota city or county	19	100.0

PLACE OF BIRTH

	N	%
No answer	2	10.5
Iowa	1	5.3
Minnesota	15	78.9
Nebraska	1	5.3
	<u>19</u>	<u>100.0</u>

COUNTY OF RESIDENCE

	N	%
Becker	3	15.8
Clearwater	2	10.5
Dakota	1	5.3
Hennepin	10	52.6
Itasca	1	5.3
Mille Lacs	1	5.3
Ramsey	1	5.3
	<u>19</u>	<u>100.1</u>

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

	N	%
Metropolitan	9	47.4
Urban	2	10.5
Rural non-farm	8	42.1
Rural farm	-	-
	<u>19</u>	<u>100.0</u>

MARITAL STATUS

	N	%
Single	19	100.0

* Data concerns new court commitments during the period from July 1, 1967 to June 30, 1968. Unless otherwise noted, sentences are to be served concurrently

LIVING SITUATION

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Both natural parents	11	57.9
Mother only	4	21.1
Father only	1	5.3
Mother and stepfather	1	5.3
Boarding or foster home	2	10.5
	<u>19</u>	<u>100.1</u>

INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Superior	1	5.3
Bright normal	1	5.3
Average	8	42.1
Dull normal	8	42.1
Borderline	1	5.3
	<u>19</u>	<u>100.1</u>

OCCUPATIONAL SKILL LEVEL

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer	1	5.3
Semi-skilled	1	5.3
Unskilled	17	89.5
	<u>19</u>	<u>100.1</u>

PREVIOUS PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Unknown	19	100.0

PHYSICAL PROBLEM

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
None	19	100.0

RELIGION

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Catholic	13	68.4
Methodist	1	5.3
Episcopalian	3	15.3
Other Protestant	2	10.5
	<u>19</u>	<u>100.0</u>

HIGHEST SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Fifth grade	1	5.3
Sixth grade	2	10.5
Seventh grade	2	10.5
Eighth grade	3	15.8
Ninth grade	5	26.3
Tenth grade	5	26.3
Eleventh grade	1	5.3
	<u>19</u>	<u>100.0</u>

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Not employed -- in school	19	100.0

PRE-SENTENCE PSYCHIATRIC EVALUATION

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Unknown	19	100.0

DRUG AND/OR ALCOHOL PROBLEM

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer	1	5.3
Unknown	18	94.7
	<u>19</u>	<u>100.0</u>

NEW COURT COMMITMENTS -- JUVENILE MALES*
(American Indians only)
(N = 43)

FIRST OFFENSE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Assault	4	9.3
Burglary	9	20.9
Disorderly conduct	1	2.3
Forgery	1	2.3
Incorrigibility	3	7.0
Robbery	1	2.3
Runaway	2	4.7
Theft	4	9.3
Truancy	1	2.3
Unauthorized use of a motor vehicle	4	9.3
Other	<u>13</u>	<u>30.2</u>
	43	99.9

SECOND OFFENSE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer	24	55.8
Incorrigibility	3	7.0
Liquor violation	2	4.7
Runaway	2	4.7
Truancy	3	7.0
Unauthorized use of a motor vehicle	1	2.3
Other	<u>8</u>	<u>18.6</u>
	43	100.1

THIRD OFFENSE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer	38	88.4
Other	<u>5</u>	<u>11.6</u>
	43	100.0

FOURTH OFFENSE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer	41	95.3
Other	<u>2</u>	<u>4.7</u>
	43	100.0

CORRECTIONAL STATUS

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Juvenile correctional probation	42	97.7
None	<u>1</u>	<u>2.3</u>
	43	100.0

PREVIOUS CORRECTIONAL HISTORY

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Juvenile -- Minnesota county or city	43	100.0

PLACE OF BIRTH

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer	1	2.3
Minnesota	39	90.7
North Dakota	1	2.3
South Dakota	1	2.3
Germany	<u>1</u>	<u>2.3</u>
	43	99.9

COUNTY OF RESIDENCE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Becker	6	13.9
Beltrami	3	6.9
Cass	2	4.7
Clearwater	4	9.3
Hennepin	15	34.9
Koochiching	1	2.3
Mahnomen	2	4.7
Marshall	1	2.3
Mille Lacs	3	6.9
Ramsey	1	2.3
St. Louis	<u>5</u>	<u>11.6</u>
	43	99.9

* Data concerns new court commitments during the period from July 1, 1967 to June 30, 1968. Unless otherwise noted, sentences are to be served concurrently.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Metropolitan	17	39.5
Urban	7	16.3
Rural non-farm	18	41.9
Rural farm	1	2.3
	<u>43</u>	<u>100.0</u>

LIVING SITUATION

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Both natural parents	20	46.5
Mother only	9	20.9
Father only	1	2.3
Mother and stepfather	2	4.7
Relatives	3	7.0
Father and stepmother	1	2.3
Boarding or foster home	7	16.3
	<u>43</u>	<u>100.0</u>

INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Bright normal	2	4.7
Average	22	51.2
Dull normal	17	39.5
Borderline	2	4.7
	<u>43</u>	<u>100.1</u>

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Not employed --- not in school	4	9.3
Not employed -- in school	39	90.7
	<u>43</u>	<u>100.0</u>

PREVIOUS PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Unknown	43	100.0

PHYSICAL PROBLEM

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
None	43	100.0

MARITAL STATUS

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Single	43	100.0

RELIGION

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Catholic	26	60.5
Lutheran	4	9.3
Episcopalian	5	11.6
Baptist	1	2.3
Other Protestant	4	9.3
Other religion that these	2	4.7
None professed	1	2.3
	<u>43</u>	<u>100.0</u>

HIGHEST SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Sixth grade	2	4.7
Seventh grade	13	30.2
Eighth grade	14	32.6
Ninth grade	10	23.3
Tenth grade	4	9.3
	<u>43</u>	<u>100.1</u>

OCCUPATIONAL SKILL LEVEL

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Unskilled	43	100.0

PRE-SENTENCE PSYCHIATRIC EVALUATION

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Unknown	43	100.0

DRUG AND/OR ALCOHOL PROBLEM

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Unknown	43	100.0

MINNESOTA RECEPTION AND DIAGNOSTIC CENTER
(American Indian Youth)*
(N = 17)

FIRST OFFENSE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Aggravated assault	1	5.9
Aggravated robbery	1	5.9
Theft of over \$100	1	5.9
Unauthorized use of a motor vehicle	1	5.9
Burglary	13	76.5
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.1</u>

SECOND OFFENSE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer	15	88.2
Aggravated robbery	1	5.9
Escape from custody on felony conviction	1	5.9
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.0</u>

THIRD OFFENSE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer	17	100.0

FOURTH OFFENSE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer	17	100.0

CORRECTIONAL STATUS

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
None	15	88.2
Escapee	2	11.8
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.0</u>

PREVIOUS CORRECTIONAL HISTORY**

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Juvenile -- Minnesota city or county	11	64.7
Juvenile -- Minnesota state	10	58.8
Juvenile -- other state	1	5.9
Youth -- Minnesota city or county	2	11.8
Youth -- Minnesota state	2	11.8

PLACE OF BIRTH

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Illinois	1	5.9
Minnesota	14	82.3
Nebraska	1	5.9
South Dakota	1	5.9
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.0</u>

COUNTY OF RESIDENCE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer	1	5.9
Aitkin	1	5.9
Beltrami	1	5.9
Carlton	1	5.9
Cass	2	11.8
Hennepin	9	52.9
Koochiching	1	5.9
St. Louis	1	5.9
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.1</u>

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Metropolitan	10	58.8
Urban	1	5.9
Rural non-farm	3	17.6
Transient	3	17.6
	<u>17</u>	<u>99.9</u>

MARITAL STATUS

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Single	14	82.4
Married	2	11.8
Divorced	1	5.9
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.1</u>

* This data is for males only. All sentences are to be served concurrently.

** Affirmative responses only.

LIVING SITUATION

	N	%
Both natural parents	4	23.5
Mother only	4	23.5
Father only	1	5.9
Mother and stepfather	2	11.8
Spouse and children	1	5.9
Spouse and in-laws	1	5.9
Relatives	1	5.9
Independent	3	17.6
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.0</u>

INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE

	N	%
Superior	1	5.9
Bright normal	2	11.8
Average	9	52.9
Dull normal	3	17.6
Borderline	1	5.9
Unknown	1	5.9
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.0</u>

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	N	%
Employed full-time	8	47.1
Irregularly employed	1	5.9
Not employed -- not in school	7	41.2
Not employed -- in school	1	5.9
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.1</u>

PREVIOUS PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT

	N	%
Hospitalization	3	17.6
None	7	41.2
Unknown	7	41.2
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.0</u>

PHYSICAL PROBLEM

	N	%
None	17	100.0

RELIGION

	N	%
Catholic	10	58.8
Lutheran	1	5.9
Episcopalian	4	23.5
Other Protestant	2	11.8
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.0</u>

HIGHEST SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED

	N	%
Seventh grade	2	11.8
Eighth grade	4	23.5
Ninth grade	4	23.5
Tenth grade	4	23.5
Eleventh grade	2	11.8
Twelfth grade	1	5.9
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.0</u>

OCCUPATIONAL SKILL LEVEL

	N	%
Unskilled	17	100.0

PRE-SENTENCE PSYCHIATRIC EVALUATION

	N	%
Yes	1	5.9
No	11	64.7
Unknown	5	29.4
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.0</u>

DRUG AND/OR ALCOHOL PROBLEM

	N	%
Drugs only	2	11.8
Alcohol only	2	11.8
None	12	70.6
Unknown	1	5.9
	<u>17</u>	<u>100.1</u>

STATE REFORMATORY FOR MEN
(American Indians only)
(N = 8)

FIRST OFFENSE

	N	%
Aggravated assault	2	18.2
Aggravated robbery	1	9.1
Simple robbery	2	18.2
Theft of over \$100	3	27.3
Aggravated forgery	1	9.1
Burglary	2	18.2
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.1</u>

SECOND OFFENSE^a

	N	%
No answer	9	81.8
Unauthorized use of a motor vehicle	1	9.1
Escape from custody on a felony conviction	1	9.1
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.0</u>

THIRD OFFENSE

	N	%
No answer	11	100.0

FOURTH OFFENSE

	N	%
No answer	11	100.0

CORRECTIONAL STATUS

	N	%
None	8	87.5
Minnesota corrections institution	3	12.5
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.0</u>

PREVIOUS CORRECTIONAL HISTORY^{**}

	N	%
Juvenile -- Minnesota city or county	9	81.8
Juvenile -- Minnesota state	4	36.4
Juvenile -- other state	1	9.1
Youth -- Minnesota city or county	7	63.6
Youth -- Minnesota state	4	36.4
Youth -- other state	2	18.2
Adult -- Minnesota city or county	2	18.2

PLACE OF BIRTH

	N	%
Arkansas	2	18.2
Idaho	2	18.2
Minnesota	1	9.1
Nevada	1	9.1
North Dakota	1	9.1
Norway	2	18.2
Canada	2	18.2
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.1</u>

COUNTY OF RESIDENCE

	N	%
Becker	1	9.1
Hennepin	7	63.6
Koochiching	1	9.1
Red Lake	1	9.1
Traverse	1	9.1
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.0</u>

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

	N	%
Metropolitan	7	63.6
Urban	2	18.2
Rural non-farm	2	18.2
Rural farm	~	~
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.0</u>

MARITAL STATUS

	N	%
Single	8	72.7
Married	3	27.3
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.0</u>

^a Sentences to be served concurrently. ^{**} Affirmative response only.

LIVING SITUATION

	N	%
Both natural parents	1	9.1
Mother only	2	18.2
Spouse only	1	9.1
Spouse and children	2	18.2
Relatives	1	9.1
Independent	4	36.4
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.1</u>

INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE

	N	%
Bright normal	1	9.1
Average	5	45.5
Dull normal	3	27.3
Borderline	2	18.2
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.1</u>

OCCUPATIONAL SKILL LEVEL

	N	%
Unskilled	11	100.0

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

	N	%
No answer	7	63.6
Other	4	36.4
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.0</u>

PRE-SENTENCE PSYCHIATRIC EVALUATION

	N	%
No	9	81.8
Unknown	2	18.2
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.0</u>

PHYSICAL PROBLEM

	N	%
Chronic	1	9.1
None	10	90.9
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.0</u>

RELIGION

	N	%
Catholic	5	45.5
Lutheran	2	18.2
Episcopalian	1	9.1
Other Protestant	3	27.3
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.1</u>

HIGHEST SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED

	N	%
Eighth grade	4	36.4
Ninth grade	3	27.3
Tenth grade	2	18.2
Twelfth grade	2	18.2
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.1</u>

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	N	%
Employed full-time	2	18.2
Employed part-time	1	9.1
Irregularly employed	1	9.1
Not employed -- not in school	7	63.6
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.0</u>

PREVIOUS PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT

	N	%
Hospitalization and outpatient	1	9.1
None	9	81.8
Unknown	1	9.1
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.0</u>

DRUG AND/OR ALCOHOL PROBLEM

	N	%
Alcohol only	3	27.3
None	8	72.7
	<u>11</u>	<u>100.0</u>

MINNESOTA STATE PRISON
(American Indians only)
(N = 4)

FIRST OFFENSE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Aggravated robbery	1	25.0
Receiving stolen property over \$100	1	25.0
Aggravated forgery	1	25.0
Burglary	1	25.0
	<u>4</u>	<u>100.0</u>

SECOND OFFENSE*

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer	3	75.0
Aggravated forgery	1	25.0
	<u>4</u>	<u>100.0</u>

ACTIVE CORRECTIONAL STATUS

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
None	4	100.0

PREVIOUS CORRECTIONAL HISTORY**

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Juvenile -- Minnesota city or county	2	50.0
Juvenile -- Minnesota state	2	50.0
Youth -- Minnesota city or county	1	25.0
Youth -- Minnesota state	2	50.0
Adult -- Minnesota city or county	3	75.0
Adult -- Minnesota state	3	75.0
Adult -- other state	1	25.0

PLACE OF BIRTH

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Minnesota	4	100.0

COUNTY OF RESIDENCE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer	1	25.0
Beltrami	1	25.0
Cass	1	25.0
Hennepin	1	25.0
	<u>4</u>	<u>100.0</u>

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Metropolitan	1	25.0
Urban	1	25.0
Rural non-farm	1	25.0
Transient	1	25.0
	<u>4</u>	<u>100.0</u>

MARITAL STATUS

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Single	1	25.0
Married	2	50.0
Non-legal association	1	25.0
	<u>4</u>	<u>100.0</u>

* This data concerns males only. All sentences are to be served concurrently.

** Affirmative responses only.

LIVING SITUATION

	N	%
Spouse and children	2	50.0
Unknown	2	50.0
	<u>4</u>	<u>100.0</u>

INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE

	N	%
Average	4	100.0

OCCUPATIONAL SKILL LEVEL

	N	%
Unskilled	4	100.0

PREVIOUS PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT

	N	%
Hospitalization	1	25.0
None	1	25.0
Unknown	2	50.0
	<u>4</u>	<u>100.0</u>

PHYSICAL PROBLEM

	N	%
None	4	100.0

RELIGION

	N	%
Catholic	3	75.0
Episcopalian	1	25.0
	<u>4</u>	<u>100.0</u>

HIGHEST SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED

	N	%
Seventh grade	1	25.0
Eighth grade	1	25.0
Ninth grade	1	25.0
Tenth grade	1	25.0
	<u>4</u>	<u>100.0</u>

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	N	%
Irregularly employed	2	50.0
Not employed -- not in school	2	50.0
	<u>4</u>	<u>100.0</u>

PRE-SENTENCE PSYCHIATRIC EVALUATION

	N	%
No	1	25.0
Unknown	3	75.0
	<u>4</u>	<u>100.0</u>

DRUG AND/OR ALCOHOL PROBLEM

	N	%
Alcohol only	2	50.0
Unknown	2	50.0
	<u>4</u>	<u>100.0</u>